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ABSTRACT

Marxist/Maoist interpretations of sport in China differ significantly from the functional and meritocratic perspectives in the West which emphasize competition and personal reward. The latter school stresses the ability of the upwardly mobile aspirant to prove ability through competition. Individuals with talent are placed in valued positions in society. Proponents of the Marxist/Maoist school, however, view sport as traditionally a repressive vehicle that legitimizes the already stratified society. Sport need not, however, be repressive and can be consciously used to reshape society and avoid anomie; the means and methods of sport can be directed to avoid normlessness by emphasizing the cooperative spirit in sport. It is clear that the image of sport in China is crucial; it must conform to the image of cooperation rather than competition. Historical analysis of the development of sport in China shows that despite a long tradition against needless exertion, larger forces for change (from the young and from women) may have contributed to the rapid growth of sport. Sport has, in turn, been used by the Communists to resocialize the masses in the modes of thought deemed proper for a China capable of modernization and self-defense. (DS)

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Donald Chu
Skidmore College
November, 1978

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The Kansas City, Missouri Convention
of the
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If sport is indeed a mirror of society, the study of sport may deepen the understanding of a society. Little in the way of sociological analysis of the sport movement in the People's Republic of China has appeared in the literature. It is indeed lamentable that the dearth of information available from the mainland has dictated such a vacuum. This paper is an attempt to piece together available literature, pertinent sociological theory and research in order to further an understanding of sport in China.¹

The paper will be divided into two major sections. The first will deal with theoretical issues concerning sport in general and in China. Functional and meritocratic interpretations of sport will be contrasted against the Marxist/Maoist perspective. It will be suggested that the functionalist/meritocratic compatibility with the sport concept of "leveling-out" is totally contrary to the Marxist/Maoist doctrine. The former schools emphasize the ability of the upwardly mobile aspirant to prove ability through competition. Individuals are evaluated and those with talent are placed in the valued positions in society. Sport is a means of "leveling out" any given peaks or depths in a stratified society. Proponents of the Marxist/Maoist school however, view sport as traditionally a repressive vehicle which legitimizes the already stratified society. Sport inherently needn't be repressive. It may be used consciously to reshape society and avoid the "anomie" which may befall societies. The Chinese emphasis on the "means" of sport and its implications for the avoidance of Durkheim's "normlessness" will be explored in a third part of the theoretical examination of sport in China. The fourth section of this theoretical discussion will deal with an organizational analysis of sport in China. In this superficial examination it will be suggested that the image of sport is crucial to the legitimacy and hence survivability of sport in China.

Major section two of this paper will attempt to outline the present state of sport in the People's Republic. Historical contrast with Soviet, English and American sport will help define the parameters of Chinese sport. On a deeper level however, a mere sketch of the probable sport situation in China may be somewhat misleading. Analysis must seek to understand the conditions against and with which the Communists had to work. It will be shown that despite a long tradition against "needless" physical exertion in China, larger forces for change (from the young and from women) may have contributed to the rapid growth of sport. Analysis will continue through an examination of the internal dynamics of the use of sport as a change-- a social-psychological question.

Theoretical Issues Concerning Sport in China:

A prefatory caveat:

Before proceeding with an examination of theoretical issues surrounding sport in China, it may be necessary to note that our purpose is not to extol the virtues of the Communist system. Instead it is to understand the Chinese use of sport. At times it may therefore be instructive to see through their eyes and understand sport from their perspective. The functionalist/meritocratic analysis of sport will serve to delineate Marxist/Maoist interpretations through contrast.

Divergent theoretical interpretation of sport:

Richard Gruneau in his insightful discussion of sport and social stratification reviews the functionalist interpretation of difference in society. He summarizes that inequalities are based on the notion that societies must somehow effect a division of labor that guarantees the filling of society's most important positions by the most qualified. Hierarchies of rewards in the way of material and status incentives are therefore necessary for the

vitality of a society (Gruneau in Ball and Loy: 1975).

Only extreme proponents of Chinese Communism would argue with the necessity, at least at this stage in China's development, for the need of some differential reward system (Whyte, 1975). The question then is not if differential rewards are necessary, on this Chinese Communist theorists and functionalists would agree. Disagreement would instead center upon the differential access various class members have to those rewards. In the Chinese view, a popular myth in Western industrial societies holds that sport functions as a mobility mechanism. In the long term, continued acquisition of society's rewards would lead to a "leveling-out" of class biases in sport and sport related social life (Page in Page, 1972). Society would benefit through the placement of superior people in important positions-- regardless of their original class background. Opponents of functionalist theory would argue however that the supposed equalization of opportunity to participate in sport and in its control would never eventuate. Sport in this view has in the past been too often used to institutionalize inequalities. Gruneau traces the development of a "false consciousness" which has served to control the masses.

With the rise of egalitarianism in the 18th and 19th century, the legitimacy of claims based on estate, class, birth or lineage were brought into question (Gouldner, 1970). Talent and energy were instead offered as the legitimate bases for position and authority. Eventually however, class and status inequalities reasserted themselves. Equalities of opportunity were limited by class and status related barriers to expertise. In addition the resultant inequalities of performance between classes themselves further vitiated equalities of opportunity. Those occupying upper social classes were given legitimacy by the new doctrine of the meritocracy. It was believed that those in positions of authority hold their positions

because of their superior abilities.²

The "false consciousness" outlined above is seen by Marxists as serving the hegemony on the ruling classes. From their perspective, sport recreates the existant social structure by inculcating a bourgeois ideology and somehow defining it as "transcendentally apolitical." The equation of superior sport performance with superior merit and worth of the upper classes, was a myth perpetuated to legitimize the position of the favored classes vis-a-vis the lower classes. According to Parkin (1972):

"The ability of well placed families to confer advantages on their younger members thus encourages a fairly high degree of social self-recruitment within privileged strata from one generation to the next. Partly as a result of this there often develops a pattern of social and cultural differentiation which in turn, reinforces the system of occupational recruitment and so crystallizes the class structure through time." (Parkin, 1972)

Competitive sport reflects the bourgeois ideology. An emphasis on winning creates hierarchial distinctions which by their very nature are the antitheses of the Communist egalitarian ideal. The bourgeois sporting ethos, into which the masses are led to believe, contains a faith in the possibilities of linear progress. Accordingly it is control oriented and helps to maintain a false consciousness (Gruneau in Ball and Loy, 1975: 128-136).

The Maoist interpretation of sport is in accord with the spirit of Marxian analysis:

(Sport) has always had a distinct class nature. Under the capitalist system, the reactionary ruling class makes use of physical culture as a tool to uphold the capitalist system and bourgeois dictatorship and to debase people's spirit, to benumb the people's revolutionary fighting spirit and as a commodity for profit making. (Parenthesis added)

With capitalism's advent, the privileged class used sports activities as a diversionary tactic so the masses would ignore the contradictions in their society,... (Kolatch, 1972:88)

Sport is inherently value free. It has, in the Marxian/Maoist interpretation been corrupted as another mechanism to maintain and legitimize class inequalities. From this line of analysis, sport as most social phenomenon must be viewed from a class perspective. Consistent with the Marxist praxis, sport can and should be used to attenuate class inequalities rather than reinforce class differences as is done by the bourgeois models of sport.

It is on the consistent viewing of social phenomenon in class terms that Durkheim and Marx differed. Despite Durkheim's socialist leanings he stood deeply opposed to the purely proletarian class perspective of Marx and was strongly opposed to the necessity for class warfare (Durkheim, 1933). The next section will deal with Durkheim's concept of "anomie" and its relationship to Chinese sport.

The avoidance of "anomie:"

Though Durkheim did not comment specifically on the relationship of sport and society, his concepts of "organic solidarity" and "anomie" may be applied to their analysis in the People's Republic. Such an examination will lead to a better understanding of the distinctive character of sport in China.

Lucian Pye in his analysis of the social-psychological framework behind Chinese politics identifies a problem facing the modernizing society (Pye, 1968: 246). With the industrialization and urbanization essential for development there is an accompanying difficulty in the transmission of values to the generations. Implied here is a loss in the communication of societally legitimized norms governing behavior.

In his extension of "anomie" from Durkheim's original environmental site to the individual, Merton defines "anomie" as:

The process whereby exaltation of the end generates a literal demoralization, i.e. a deinstitutionalization, of the means occurs in many groups where the two components of the social structure are not highly integrated. (Merton, 1968: 190)

In societies where there is a strong emphasis upon specific goals without a corresponding emphasis on institutional procedures, individuals are led to:

...center their emotional convictions upon the complex of culturally acclaimed ends, with far less emotional support for prescribed methods of reaching out for these ends. With such differentiated emphases upon goals and institutional procedures, the later may be so vitiated by the stress on goals as to have the behavior of many individuals limited only by conditions of technical expediency. (Merton, 1968:188)

Merton identifies American society as an example of an acute disjunction between the de-emphasized norms governing behavior and the goals which are emphasized in society. The American belief that all are capable of success places a particular pressure on individuals to find the means. American society does not clearly define legitimized routes to the ends however. As a result of this normless ness "technical expediency" becomes the prime limiter (albeit an unsatisfactory one) of "acceptable" behaviors to reach desired ends.

Merton goes so far as to present a microcosmic illustration of normlessness through competitive athletics.

Thus in competitive athletics, when the aim of victory is shorn of its institutional trappings and success becomes construed as 'winning the game' rather than 'winning under the rules of the game,' a premium is implicitly set upon the use of illegitimate but technically efficient means. (Merton, 1968:189)

The macrosystem may also become ruled by normlessness and an emphasis on ends as the microsystem of sport may be so ruled. Whether consciously implemented or not, Chinese Communist Sport policy may be helping to avoid the "anomie" which often accompanies modernization.

One is struck by the emphasis in the Chinese press on legitimate and

desired means deemed appropriate for use by participants in sport. Certain attitudes and means of play are prescribed by the Chinese press. Other attitudes (eg., "championitis") are negatively valued. "Friendship first, competition second" is the slogan seen repeatedly in Mainland newspapers and magazines (SCP, April 11; Sept. 27, 1975). Winning is merely a temporary outcome. Lasting benefits of friendship and the elevation of one's game may be derived through an emphasis on hard work in practice and playing well and fairly during the contest. There is hardly any mention of the score in sport accounts in the Chinese press. One is hard put to find the winning time, distance or point total. When outcomes are mentioned they are usually in the way of reinforcement for other desired behavior (eg., nationalism, egalitarianism).

It was noted earlier that any stress on winning inherently produces hierarchy, a hierarchy which is contrary to the Chinese drive towards egalitarianism. Rather than stressing victory as is so often done in American newspapers, the Chinese press emphasizes such concepts as friendship between people and the cooperative spirit in sport (SCP, Sept. 27, 1975). Through early and consistent political indoctrination, Chinese athletes are inculcated with values that emphasize the method of play. This has been noted by foreign journalists as well as by reporters from the mainland (Davie, 1977 and Sports Illustrated, 1973). Through this concern for legitimate means in sport, the Chinese may minimize the demoralization which accompanies the exaltation of ends. In so doing, the Communists may indeed be moving in the direction of the "organic solidarity" proffered by Durkheim--a society marked by individual cooperation and interdependence (Durkheim, 1933:xxxvii).

This paper does not mean to be so presumptuous to assume that it

knows the Chinese Communists consciously use sport to avoid the Durkheimian specter of "anomie." Sport may be just one area in the larger society which exhibits common concern for legitimate means or sport may be used by the Communists as a major obstacle to "normlessness." Our purpose is not to unravel the question of the "chicken or the egg," but merely to illustrate the distinctive character of Chinese sport.

The Reality of Sport in China:

Chinese Sport in Contrast: Reflections of a Society:

The class nature of sport has been noted by writers from various backgrounds--both communist and non-communist. In societies where such stratification has been noted there has often been chronicled a concomitant stratification in sport opportunity and/or participation.

In Disraeli's Sybil or Two Nations, the central theme of class differences in England is noted. Due partly to industrialization there had developed in England-

...two nations; between them there is no intercourse and no sympathy; who are as ignorant of each other's habits, thoughts, and feelings, as if they were dwellers in different zones, or inhabitants of different planets; who are formed by a different breeding, are fed by a different food, are ordered by different manners-are not governed by the same laws (Disraeli, 1927).

Though such radical class differences may or may not exist today, differences in attitude toward sport in England remain. Jackson and Marsden (1962: 106-108) comment on the gulf between working and upper class youth attitudes toward sport. Lower class youth seemed less concerned with soccer than with their preferred sport of rugby league football. The rough and tumble world of rugby held an attraction which the finesse game of soccer did not. Not only was game preference different but the very manner of play between classes was different. Working class youth

were less concerned with the school than with their neighborhood. One may speculate that those lower class youth capable of playing upper class sport preferred to focus on the roots from which they came and to the status to which they would probably remain tied in the future. Interestingly, there also was noted a difference in the emphasis on outcomes exhibited by youth of different classes. Upper class players were more concerned with winning while those from working class backgrounds were more concerned with enjoying the game.

Class differences of this sort have been widely noted in America. (Blalock in Loy and Kenyon, 1967:416-423) (Edwards, 1973). Inequalities in participation and leadership opportunities in sport have been posited as functions of greater status differences in society. If the "cui bono" (who benefits) criterion for classification of organizations is employed (Blau and Scott, 1962), sport as an organization in America may primarily benefit its owners, hence the upper classes.

When this same "cui bono" criterion is applied to Soviet sport, one would assume that sport would differ greatly from the American variant. Whereas owners may benefit from American sport, in the Soviet Union sport, as all other institutions in a socialist society, should benefit the proletariat.

Marcuse, in his Essay on Liberation (1969), indirectly questions this assumption. Speaking generally to the development of the Soviet culture he notes that it has been deflected from its original goals through the creation of a competitive coexistence with the West. In essence Soviet society has become similar to American materialistic-ends oriented society. A repressive bureaucracy originated during the Stalinist period and has continued to this day.

In the previous section we discussed the possibility that societal

emphasis on "ends" may be incompatible with socialism. Because of class biases in participation opportunities and other resource availability, an emphasis on "ends" (without a corresponding emphasis on "means" to reach those ends) might inevitably lead to a stabilization of an existing hierarchical structure. If indeed the "ends-means" criterion is an indicator of a society's socialist-capitalist character, then the validity of Marcuse's hypothesis seems to be supported. Recent Olympic Game and Canadian-Soviet hockey contests have illustrated the extremes to which Soviet athletes will go in order to achieve victory. Illegal fencing weapons and questionable hockey and basketball tactics may lead to victory but are counter to true socialist emphasis on means as well as ends of competition.

At the same time that Marcuse identifies the Soviet Union as one of the "haves" in the world and in collusion with the U. S., he cites China as different--a nation committed to the "Great Refusal"--the denial of the massive exploitive power of corporate capitalism. China is seen as being truly constructed on a popular basis. If we can indeed look at sport as an indicator of class differences, there appears to be an emphasis on sport for the masses as opposed to sport for the elite. Further evidence for the socialist character of Chinese society; is provided by the Chinese emphasis on means in sport--fair play, sportsmanship, cooperation, etc. Employing the "cui bono" criterion again, those who benefit are presumably the proletariat--that is if one is to go by the accounts of the general press. If indeed "cui bono" differences exist between sport in China as opposed to that in England, U. S. and the Soviet Union, this would indicate a basic and radical difference in the structure of sport across these countries.

One may speculate as to the true socialist character of the Chinese society considering the data available. Despite the glimpses of Communist

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society provided by recent journalists, academicians and other visitors, it seems that hard empirical testing remains a distant possibility. In the next section we will look at a primary source for information that is available, the Chinese press. We will see that the biases emphasized in the press may be as revealing as the content reported.

The "Image" of Sport as Prime Determinant of Legitimacy"

If one were to totally believe accounts of Chinese sport given in the government controlled press, one would see sport as a classless phenomenon in which all participants compete mainly for friendship and in which all participants are ideologically pure. Certainly caution must be exercised in interpretation. It must be remembered that newspapers and magazines are propaganda arms of the bureaucracy. They seek to instill the governmentally deemed proper images in China.

The care with which the image of sport in China is constructed in the press however, may itself be instructive. Meticulous concern with the image of sport may indicate a Communist awareness and concern with the need to develop the proper perception of sport in the populace. Only with acceptance by the broad masses will historical Chinese negativism toward physical exertion be annulled and sports organizations be established as viable stable elements of Chinese society.

Though the revolution of 1949 did away with the most glaring of inequalities important differences remain. For example, certain income differentials exist between management and production personnel. Official policy doesn't advocate their elimination (because of the socialist principle of distribution according to labor). The impression of total egalitarianism derived from the rhetoric of the Cultural Revolution and glimpses of Chinese uniformity of dress are misleading. Differentials do exist

though the "depth" of differences may not be as great as before the Communists.³

What has been of interest is the Chinese concern with the image that differentials may produce. Martin Whyte notes:

...the distinctiveness of Chinese egalitarianism is to be found not so much in its reduction or elimination of differences in income, power and education skills, although some of this has occurred, but in its attempts to mute consequences, in terms of matters like life style, consumption patterns and interpersonal difference, of the inequalities that do exist.

There is thus a concerted effort to blunt the subjective impact which existing inequalities might have on the initiative and dedication of the have-nots in whose name the revolution was fought. (Whyte, 1975)

Images of ideological fervor, egalitarian team relationships and conformist behavior conveyed by Chinese accounts of sport events and participants must be understood in light of this need to develop an image consistent with the revolutionary causes. The Chinese press which serves the proletariat must portray athletes as models for the revolution-regardless of differential treatments which may be accorded athletes of different ranks.

Interpretors of the Chinese press concerned with sport must continually be aware of the intimate link between sport and politics. Issues totally outside of the sport realm may appear in athletics accounts. For example, though little is known of Liu Shao-chi's direct influence on sport, it is unlikely that during his period of influence he specifically advocated "championitis" (an overemphasis on elite sport and winning) (SCP, 1972, 27). The Chinese press will construct an anti-model which will help define through contrast a desired direction for sport and the greater society. Sport serves politics. Its image is certainly not above manipulation by the propaganda arms of the government.⁴

Sport as a Developing Organization:

The importance of the "image" of sport in China may be further under-

stood in light of sociological organizational theory. Organizations have been defined as social units established to obtain certain goals with formulated procedures as to relations and duties (Blau and Scott, 1962). Formal organizations are formally established organizations erected for the specific purpose of achieving certain explicit goals. The All-China Sports Federation and organizations of its type have been designed by the Chinese Communists to promote the ends of socialism, egalitarianism, cooperation, nationalism, militarism and internationalism (Chu, 1977).

The organizations of sport, like all new organizations, encounter initial problems of legitimacy. Sport must establish its validity and gain acceptance in Chinese society--the institutions of sport must be valued for themselves and be considered right and proper (Lipset, 1960). The Communists cannot gain legitimacy for sport in Chinese society through proclamation alone. Legitimacy is in a very real sense a social-psychological variable. The organization of sport must be perceived as contributing necessary products to Chinese society. As will be mentioned later, there is evidence that Mainlanders have developed a very real ability to separate thought and attitude from action (Pye, 1967). In order to fully gain legitimacy for sport in China, in order to establish stability and survivability for physical culture, the populace must be convinced that sport is valuable. Hence the importance of a properly conceived image of sport.

Chinese sport may be interpreted through an open systems perspective as existing in an exchange relationship with society. Unless the organization is judged by the populace as contributing something desirable, it will not receive the necessary inputs for survival (Thompson, 1967:28). Unless sport can be shown to be an active contributor toward the ideals of socialist society then it may not receive resources in the way of long term motivated

support from the populace.

The problems of convincing the populace of the necessity for sport is exacerbated by historical precedent and "technological softness." Though it will be argued later in the paper that there existed undercurrent for change in China among the young and female, historically, the masses of China have had a negativistic attitude toward sport. During the Han dynasty (296 B.C.-265 A.D.) a strong Taoist influence pervaded Chinese society. Consistent with the religion was an attitude that one should not weary one's body with toil. This Taoist influence had strong effects for almost two thousand years. More recently the Manchus (during Ching dynasty, 1644-1879) suppressed physical culture in order to maintain a subservient population (Wu, 1965). The organizational viability of sport was and still is threatened by the inertia of many generations of a negative attitude toward physical exertion. It is difficult for the Communists to inculcate a belief in the necessity for sport in a society which has for so long not valued it.

"Technical softness" also increases problems in the establishment of Chinese sport. By technology is meant the techniques employed to alter the materials put into an organization, in order to produce a necessary output. Nationalism, egalitarianism, etc., are not easily measured. Even granting increases in these characteristics, it is difficult to measure the degree of causation attributeable to physical culture and sport. According to Thompson...

...without cause/effect understanding (there is) no basis for recognizing alternatives, no grounds for claiming credit for success or blame for failure, no pattern for self-control. Where purpose is present but patterns are vague, organizational survival becomes not simply an underlying necessity but a conscious and pressing goal of those in the organization's power structure. Extrinsic evaluations are emphasized, together with ceremonial reaffirmation of the importance or sacredness of the purpose (Thompson, 1967:160).

Because of the difficulty in establishing cause and effect between the

technology used in sport and claimed outcomes, the Chinese press must emphasize the importance of sport to the ideals of the revolution. Mao is shown as a great sportsman. Athletes are lauded as models for socialism in order to promote the image of sport as a central institution to society. Viability may be increased if the organization of sport is accepted as actually important to the development of Chinese society. Because there is nothing in the way of a market mechanism to test the necessity (and hence legitimacy) of the organization's outputs (Perrow, 1970), the Communists have instead sought to develop a perception of sport as obviously important. If the Chinese press can convince the masses that sport is central to Chinese society and to its values, then a "confidence" in the importance of sport may be engendered-- a confidence which may increase perceptions of legitimacy.⁵ The press cannot show athletes as being accorded special privileges since this would be counter to the principles of Chinese egalitarianism. Similarly the organization of sport in China must be presented as national and non-particularistic if legitimacy is to be facilitated. The image of sport is crucial to a Communist leadership so concerned with sport's survival.

The impact of sport on China:

Sport has been used by the Communists to resocialize the masses in the modes of thought deemed proper for a China capable of modernization and self-defense. It will be the purpose of this section to explore determinants of the impact of the change possible through sport.

Orville Brim has identified three factors affecting later life socialization: 1) the biological capacities of the individual, 2) the level of technology achieved by the society in its socialization methods and 3) the effects of earlier learnings or lack of them (Brim in Brim and Wheeler, 1966). Heredity largely predetermines biological capacities to resocialize. The

Communists have dealt with the second factor by analyzing the full weight of the Party bureaucratic communication, transmission, and dissemination of the resocialization effort. It is on the third factor that we will labor. Restated and extended, the question becomes how consistent or inconsistent were previous Chinese attitudes and socialization with the newly desired beliefs. Our assumption is that building upon previous learning and predispositions will be much less difficult than rooting out and replacing conflicting views in the populace. Whereas the previous discussion on the difficulties in establishing sport's legitimacy outlined a factor inhibiting the viability of sport, the next section will delve into some factors which have worked to promote sport in China.

It is indeed a popular misconception that the Communists intruded upon and themselves upset a pacific equilibrium in China based on the widely held and legitimized Confucian ideals. Even before the revolution of 1949, there existed a considerable tension between generations and between the sexes. The situation in China was not one of universally-held and indisputable values. Rather there existed considerable fluidity and questioning of the legitimacy of traditional beliefs. The Confucian tradition had so long discriminated against the young and against women that with the impact of Western missions, trade, education, medicine and political intervention there developed a strong internal pressure for change (Parsons in Yang, 1959:V). The impetus for upheaval in the traditional system had gotten so great that:

...by the 1920's the gap was fast widening between the Confucian mentality and the attitudes of the young political leadership... so overwhelming was the ideological swing away from the Confucian orthodoxy and the social institutions molded by it that repeated restorationist efforts in the 1930's, such as local government orders to reinstate Confucian classics into the school curriculum and the Confucian tenet of the New Life Movement of the Nationalist regime, were unable to turn the tide. (Yang, 1959:15)

According to Yang, by 1949 China was a society ripe for change. Against this background of pressure from the young and women, it is not surprising to see the vigor with which many Communist programs (including sport) have been grasped.⁶ With the Communist legitimation of sport for the entire populace may very well have come a support from these formerly disadvantaged groups. The historically negativistic Chinese attitude towards physical exertion previously mentioned may have been undermined by the pressures for change from these two sectors.

The vigor with which Communism is grasped is also affected by what Pye regard as the "...peculiar sensitivity of traditional Chinese culture to the importance of authority for the potentially destructive character of human emotions." (Pye, 1968:xviii) In his view the monolithic spirit of Communism is basically acceptable to the Chinese due to a cultural awareness that man finds his only significance as a social being-a crucial awareness that self has meaning only in its membership in the collective.

Perhaps with this understanding in mind, the Communists have sought to convert a Chinese society characterized as a "sheet of loose sand" by Sun Yat-sen. In an attempt to develop both vertical integration (a sense of national community between rulers and ruled) and horizontal integration (a sense of community among people at the same level of society) the Communists organized large parts of the population into small groups of 8-15 people (hsiao-tsu) (Whyte, 1974). This organizational innovation played a large part in producing a relatively unified population, responsive to the demands of the state-whether they be for increasing rice production or for an all-peasants sports meet. Through the use of "hsiao-tsu" reference figures are provided and through their evaluations and expectations, role prescriptions and achievement motives are to be redefined.⁷

It may not be coincidental that the size of "hsiao-tsu" is roughly com-

parable to the size of many athletic teams. Team mates may provide important "significant others" who will shape not only behaviors strictly associated with the athletic field but also the political attitudes so emphasized in all phases of Chinese society.

In learning to cope with the massive indoctrination efforts of the Communists, the middle-aged generation of China has increasingly developed the ability to separate overt behavior from covert feelings and attitudes (Pye, 1967:246). This has been confirmed by research on recent immigrants from the mainland (Heniker, 1969). It is certainly at the deeper levels of inculcation that the Communists are aiming. In order to produce the new society, the "new man" must be instilled with the proper attitudes and values. It is at this point that resocialization attempts have faltered.⁸

The elite has been relatively successful in producing a unified and organized populace, but they have been less successful in transforming the varied hopes, fears, needs, aspirations and loyalties of their citizens (Whyte, 1974:235).

The Chinese may be fundamentally different in national character from Americans. Whereas in the U.S. the bluntness of "laying it on the line" is valued, it appears the Chinese are able to maintain cognitive distinction between one's overt formal behavior and one's covert emotional feeling (Heniker, 1969).

The Communists may be dealing with the problem of depth of internalization of newly desired values and attitudes through the conscious use of sport. The potential impact of sport on resocialization efforts is suggested by Orville Brim in his comparison of adult re-socialization efforts (eg. schools) and the socialization which occurs during childhood. One of the central distinctions noted is the difference in the degree of affectivity present. During childhood, large amounts of emotion are present. Emotions surround interpersonal interactions. Relatively large amounts of socialization may result. Normal adult socialization methods on the other hand, lack this affectivity.

Brim suggests that "Adult socialization probably requires a relationship resembling that of childhood to effect equivalent changes in basic values through socialization." (Brim in Brim and Wheeler, 1966:37).

By some accounts the Chinese Communists seem to be at least somewhat aware of the importance of the emotions. Pye notes "the uniqueness of the extent to which the Chinese Communists have sought explicitly to associate strong emotionalism and effectiveness in revolutionary actors...." (Pye, 1968). It is assumed that nothing can be accomplished unless the people are stirred to passion. The dull emotionless acceptance of life's routine, the historic stoicism of the masses in fatalistically accepting their lot must be disturbed (Pye, 1968:82). Rather than relying exclusively on the traditional non-affective re-socialization means (eg. schools) the Communist Chinese attempt to harness passion as a means of intensifying action and internalizing values. Great emotional tensions are created during mass meetings and propaganda campaigns when "thought struggle" and "thought remolding" are desired (Yang, 1959:175).

From superficial analysis it appears that sport may be an arena of great potential for the Chinese resocialization efforts. Emotion and passion are often prevalent during athletic competition. Affect is indeed not limited to those actually playing. Spectators at all levels are affected by the deep emotions which may be drawn from sport. It may not be totally incidental that sport and politics are so intimately related. Desired values and attitudes are often associated with athletic feats and competition. Cooperation, nationalism, internationalism, egalitarianism are but a few of the norms constantly linked with sport and which may be inculcated through sport's affective domain. (Chu, 1977). When sport is supplemented by the shadow of Mao, leverage is increased which may be applied to resocialize the individual.⁹ References to Mao's participation and leadership in

sport and physical culture abound in the Chinese press. Usually these references are linked with some moral lesson or have some clear-cut value orientation (eg. SCP, 1976, 76-30). The research done on this subject tends to indicate the potential strength of such personal identification and emotion on the internalization of principles (Heniker, 1969).

It is not the position of this paper that Chinese socialization efforts have led to enormous changes in national values. This is an empirical question which must be tested on data which is as of yet unavailable. What has been suggested is that the use of sport as a socializing agent has great potential because of its related affectivity and especially with the charismatic figure of Mao attached.

Realistically the Communists could not expect overnight metamorphoses in individual role definitions and personality. What is more likely is that they hope for a more or less constant movement through gradations of desired norms and role definitions with each gradation not easily discernible from preceding and antecedent stages.¹⁰ It is obvious that sport in China is not even in its ideal form entirely distinct from real life as posited by Western analysts (Huizinga, 1955) Callois, 1962). Eventually the socialization of values through sport may supplement other Communist efforts to inculcate desired values and attitudes to the citizenry.¹¹

Footnotes

1. This piece is intended to extend previous analyses of sport in the People's Republic of China. See Jonathan Kolatch, 1972 and Donald Chu, 1976. Please see these for a much fuller examination of many of the issues touched upon here.
2. An interesting question concerns Veblen's "conspicuous consumption." In his view sport was a conspicuous display of waste. It therefore served as a symbol of status and lent the sportsmen an air of respectability. It would be interesting to examine sport in China in order to discern if sport served the same function at some time in history.
3. Robert Heilbroner states that "...it is useful to consider that the Chinese effort to minimize social and economic hierarchies has taken place within a political framework whose overall hierarchial structure is as pronounced as that of any society in history." (in NY Review of Books, XX:21-22). The Communists can be credited with preventing the sharp increases in inequality often accompany rapid industrialization (See Whyte, 1975). Egalitarianism is not at hand but strides have been taken in that direction.
4. An interesting side-note concerns Teng Shou-i one of five Vice-Chairmen for the All-China Sports Federation. Despite the rhetoric against the Nationalist regime and US capitalists, it appears that this graduate of Springfield College, Massachusetts served at Peking Normal University in the Department of Athletics beginning 1930 and has enjoyed relatively continued influence over athletic policy since (see Communist Chinese Who's Who).
5. This line of argument is adapted from John Meyer and Brian Rowen, 1977.

6. This is especially so considering the threads of continuity between Nationalist and Communist policy toward physical culture. See Kolatch, 1972 and Chu, 1976.
7. For a fuller discussion of role prescriptions and achievement motives, see Brim and Wheeler, 1966:3-16.
8. We musn't overlook the possibility that despite the limitations on value inculcation "hsiao-tsu" may possess, it has very probably been a significant control agent (as opposed to change agent). Devient behaviors may be limited by the evaluations of others in the immediate and highly visible collective.
9. Brian Petrie in "Sport in Politics," (in Ball and Loy, 1975) presents the framework for a model outlining the political uses of sport. In the article Petrie posits three uses for sport 1) sport as an aid in the development of political image and the political actor's particular set of desired policies, 2) the use of competitive sport against outsiders in order to develop social integration or to transfer aggressive nationalism for direct battlefield conflict and 3) in reference to institutions of higher education, the use of sport as an arena for conflict and/or resolution of conflicting political ideologies. Obviously this framework may be filled in and extended if one takes an instructive look at sport in China. Physical culture and sport serve to 1) improve physical condition of the populace (and thus China's military integrity), 2) inculcate desired norms, 3) promote socialism, 4) promote nationalism, 5) promote internationalism and 6) promote egalitarianism. Not only is competition against outsiders considered a means toward national integration but in China participation in sport with fellow countrymen serves the same purpose. Most particularly for this footnote, Mao has lent his image to

promote sport rather than the use of sport to promote the politician's image.

10. For a discussion of role gradations, see R. R. Merton, 1968:439.
11. Howard Nixon differentiates socialization through sport and socialization into sport. Obviously this dichotomy is not always distinct and exclusive. One can imagine a system like the Chinese system where societally consistent values reach across all spheres of society. Eventually all spheres of society will reinforce each other. Sport will reinforce societal values and society will reinforce the values in sport and thus sport itself.

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